

Sources

Sources for the Foreign Relations Series

The *Foreign Relations* statute requires that the published record in the *Foreign Relations* series include all records needed to provide comprehensive documentation of major U.S. foreign policy decisions and significant U.S. diplomatic activity. It further requires that government agencies, departments, and other entities of the U.S. Government engaged in foreign policy formulation, execution, or support cooperate with the Department of State historians by providing full and complete access to records pertinent to foreign policy decisions and actions and by providing copies of selected records. Most of the sources consulted in the preparation of this volume have been declassified and are available for review at the National Archives and Records Administration.

The editors of the *Foreign Relations* series have complete access to all the retired records and papers of the Department of State: the central files of the Department; the special decentralized files ("lot files") of the Department at the bureau, office, and division levels; the files of the Department's Executive Secretariat, which contain the records of international conferences and high-level official visits, correspondence with foreign leaders by the President and Secretary of State, and memoranda of conversations between the President and Secretary of State and foreign officials; and the files of overseas diplomatic posts. The Department's indexed central files through December 1975 have been permanently transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration at College Park, Maryland (Archives II). Most of the Department's decentralized office (or "lot") files covering the 1969–1976 period, which the National Archives deems worthy of permanent retention, have been transferred or are in the process of being transferred from the Department's custody to Archives II.

The editors of the *Foreign Relations* series also have full access to the papers of Presidents Nixon and Ford, and other White House foreign policy records. Presidential papers maintained and preserved at the Presidential libraries and the Nixon Presidential Materials Project at Archives II include some of the most significant foreign affairs-related documentation from the Department of State and other Federal agencies including the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Dr. Henry Kissinger has approved access to his papers at the Library of Congress. These papers are an important source for the Nixon-Ford sub-series of *Foreign Relations*.

Research for this volume involved special access to restricted documents at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, the Ford Library, the Library of Congress, and other agencies. While all the material printed in this volume has been declassified, some of it is extracted from still classified documents. The staffs of the Nixon Presidential Materials Project and the Ford Library are processing and declassifying many of the documents examined for this volume, but they may not be available in their entirety at the time of publication.

The presidential papers of the Nixon and Ford administrations are the best source of high-level decision making documentation for China during the 1973–1976 period. At the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, located at the National Archives and Records Administration II, in College Park, Maryland, several collections from the National Security Council Files are relevant to research on Sino-American relations. Among these, the Country Files are particularly helpful because they provide the NSC staff's perspective on the day-to-day ebb and flow of the relationship. The Files for the President are intermittently useful. More significant for Sino-American relations are the Henry A. Kissinger Office Files, which were Kissinger's working files. The Institutional Files (H-Files) contain records on high-level meetings, requests for studies, and presidential decisions. The Presidential/HAK Memcons files, also part of the NSC collection, consist of memoranda of conversation between foreign officials and Nixon or Kissinger. The Subject Files are divided into categories, many of them dealing with economic issues. Overall, these NSC files are extremely valuable for assessing NSC staff recommendations and presidential policy towards China. Also useful for tracking the President's daily schedule is the President's Daily Diary from the White House Central Files. The Subject Files of the White House Special Files, the White House Tapes (which ended in July 1973), and the Henry Kissinger Telephone Conversations have scattered valuable material. Some additional useful documents are contained in the Unfiled Material of the NSC Files, a chronological file of documents that was still being processed when President Nixon left office in August 1974. High-level correspondence between President Nixon and foreign heads of state are contained in the Presidential Correspondence files.

Material at the Ford Library is organized into categories similar to those at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. The National Security Adviser file contains a number of sub-files that are useful when considering U.S. relations with China and Taiwan: the Kissinger Reports, Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files, Memoranda of Conversations, National Security Adviser Memcons, National Security Decision Memoranda and Study Memoranda, NSC Staff for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders, Presidential Country Files, Trip Briefing books and Cables for President Ford. The President's Daily Diary is an invaluable resource for

following the President's daily work schedule. The Ford Library has separate NSC Institutional (H-Files), which are not part of the National Security Adviser collection. They contain the same system of minutes and related documents for NSC and Senior Review Group meetings as is found in the Nixon Presidential Materials. Also found in the NSC Institutional Files are the valuable Policy Paper files containing National Security Study Memoranda (NSSMs), National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs), and related documents.

The Kissinger Papers at the Library of Congress are valuable, although the preponderance consists of duplicate material found also in the Nixon Presidential Materials Project and the Ford Library. The best documents for Sino-American relations in the Kissinger Papers can be found in the Memoranda of Conversation, Chronological Files, Presidential Files, and Geopolitical Files.

After September 1973, Henry Kissinger became Secretary of State and the records of the Department of State take on a new prominence in the making of China policy. The same year, the Department began using the electronic State Archiving System (SAS). Historical documents from this system have been transferred to the National Archives and are part of the on-line Access to Archival Database (AAD). Some of the most tightly held telegrams are not on the electronic system, but rather on microfilm reels. Because the SAS system was in its initial stages in 1973, it is incomplete. Therefore, despite the creation of the SAS, the subject-numeric central files contain useful material for 1973. The records of the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing (Lot 80F64) partially compensate for this gap in the SAS. A number of Department of State lot files are also of special value: the records of Henry Kissinger (E5403), containing many of his memoranda of conversation; the Transcripts of Henry Kissinger's Staff Meetings with his principal officers at the Department of State (E5177); the files of Winston Lord, the Director of the Policy Planning Staff (E5027, Lot 77D114); the papers of William H. Gleysteen (Lot 89D436); Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's Telephone Conversation (Department of State, Electronic Reading Room, Transcripts of Kissinger Telephone Conversations); and lot files covering relations with the Republic of China (E5412, Lots 76D441 and 77D255).

Some final collections of special note in documenting U.S. relations with China from 1973 until 1976 are the files of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of Defense. Of particular interest in the former are the Executive Registry Files, the official files of the Director of Central Intelligence. In the latter, valuable documents are found in the country files (separate files for the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China) of Record Group 330, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense and his Assistants, and among the Records of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, described in the list below.

Unpublished Sources

Department of State

Central Files. See National Archives and Records Administration below.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger Telephone Conversations (Telcons), Electronic Reading Room, Kissinger telephone conversations

Lot Files. For other lot files already transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration at College Park, Maryland, Record Group 59, see National Archives and Records Administration below.

EAP Files: Lot 89D436, China Files/Papers of William H. Gleysteen

INR/IL Files

Post Files: Lot 80F64, American Embassy (Beijing) Files

National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Record Group 59, Records of the Department of State

Top Secret Subject-Number Indexed Central Files [25 boxes]

Central Files, 1970–1973

AID (US) CHINAT, ROC, U.S. economic aid to the ROC

DEF CHICOM, military affairs, PRC

DEF CHINAT, military affairs, ROC

DEF 1 CHINAT, defense policy, plans, readiness, ROC

DEF 1 CHINAT–US, defense policy, plans, readiness, ROC–U.S.

DEF 6 CHINAT, armed forces, ROC

DEF 15 CHINAT, bases and installations, ROC

DEF 15 CHINAT–US, bases and installations, ROC–U.S.

DEF 15–3 CHINAT–US, status of forces, ROC–U.S.

DEF 19 US–CHINAT, U.S. military assistance to the ROC

DEF 19–8 US–CHINAT, U.S. provision of military equipment and supplies to the ROC

E CHICOM general economic affairs, PRC

E CHINAT, general economic affairs, ROC

FN CHICOM financial affairs, PRC

FN CHINAT, financial affairs, ROC

FT CHICOM–US, question of trade with the PRC

FT CHICOM–1 US, general policy on the question of trade with the PRC

INCO TEXTILES CHINAT, industries and commodities, textiles, ROC

POL CHICOM, political developments, PRC

POL 1 CHICOM, U.S. general policy toward the PRC

POL CHINAT, political developments, ROC

POL 2 CHINAT, general reports and statistics, ROC

POL CHINAT–US, political affairs and relations, ROC and the United States

POL 1 CHINAT–US, U.S. general policy toward the ROC

POL 17 US–CHICOM, U.S. diplomatic and consular representation in the PRC

Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973–1976

Part of the on-line Access to Archive Databases (<http://aad.archives.gov>): Electronic Telegrams, P-Reel Index, P-Reel microfilm

Lot Files

Policy Planning Staff (S/P), Director's Files (Winston Lord) 1969–1977, E5027
[formerly Lot 77D114]

Transcripts of Secretary of State Kissinger's Staff Meetings, E5177 [formerly Lot
78D433]

E5412, (Lot 76D441)

Files on East Asia/Republic of China

Subject Files of the Office of ROC Affairs, 1951–75, E5412 [formerly Lots 76D441 and
77D255]

Nixon Presidential Materials Project

National Security Council Files

Country Files

Files for the President

Henry A. Kissinger Office Files

Presidential/HAK Memoranda of conversation

Subject Files

Unfiled Materials

NSC Institutional Files (H-Files)

Policy Papers: National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs), National Security
Study Memoranda (NSSMs)

White House Central Files

President's Daily Diary

White House Special Files

Subject Files

White House Tapes

Henry Kissinger Telephone Conversations, January to September 1973

Gerald Ford Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan

National Security Adviser

Kissinger Reports

Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files

Memoranda of Conversations

National Security Adviser Memcons

NSC Institutional Files (H-Files)

NSC Staff for East Asia and Pacific Affairs

Policy Papers: National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs), National Security
Study Memoranda (NSSMs)

Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders

Presidential Country Files

Trip Briefing Books and Cables for President Ford

President's Daily Diary

Central Intelligence Agency

Executive Registry: Executive Files of the Director of Central Intelligence
Job 80M01048A
Job 79M00467A

Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland

Record Group 330, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330-76-117

Secret Records of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1973

OASD/ISA Files: FRC 330-77-0063

Top Secret Records of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1974

OSD Files: FRC 330-78-0001

Secret Records of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1973

OSD Files: FRC 330-78-0010

Top Secret Records of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1974

OSD Files: FRC 330-78-0059

Top Secret Records of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1975

OSD Files: FRC 330-79-0049

Secret Records of the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1976

Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Manuscript Division Kissinger Papers

Published Sources

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——— *The Haldeman Diaries: Inside the Nixon White House, the Complete Multimedia Edition* (Santa Monica, CA: Sony Electronic Publishing, 1994)

Kissinger, Henry, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982)

——— *Years of Renewal* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999)

Lilley, James with Jeffrey Lilley, *China Hands: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage, and Diplomacy in Asia* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004)

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Nixon, Richard M., RN: *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978)

U.S. Department of State. *Bulletin*, 1973–1976.

U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, *Public Papers of the Presidents, Richard Nixon, 1969–1974* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970–1975)

U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, *Public Papers of the Presidents, Gerald R. Ford, 1974–1977* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975–1978)